

MICK COLLINS ADVISES ULSTER TO JOIN IRISH FREE STATE IN UNITED ERIN WHICH WILL SERVE BOTH BEST AS RACE

UNITY IS ONLY HOPE FOR REAL FREEDOM, CHIEFTAIN DECLARES

"Any Irishman Who Creates Division Amongst Us Is Standing in the Way and Is Aiding Britain—Who Will Not Say That England's Policy of 'Divide and Rule' Has Made Ulster Suffer Most?"

THESE historic articles (this is the sixth) written by Michael Collins, head of the new provisional government of the Irish Free State, exclusively for the Hearst newspapers at the request of William Randolph Hearst, give the first inside history that has been written of the secret negotiations with the British government which won Irish freedom, the unwritten chapters of the Irish Revolutionary War, and the plans of the new provisional government. The articles, cabled to the Sunday Washington Times and other Hearst newspapers, are published the next day in Ireland and also in England by newspapers to which, at the request of Mr. Collins, the right of publication was given by Mr. Hearst.

By MICHAEL COLLINS,

Head of the Provisional Government of Irish Free State.
Minister of Finance Irish Republic.
Chairman Committee Now Drafting Constitution Irish Free State.

Chief of Intelligence Department Irish Republican Army.
(Copyright in Great Britain and the Irish Free State.)
(Copyright in the U. S. by The Star Company, 1922.)

DUBLIN, March 18.

WHILE the terror in Ireland was at its height the British cabinet passed the government of Ireland act, 1920, better known as the partition act.

It is not quite clear what was in the minds of the British prime minister and his cabinet in passing this measure. Nobody representing any Irish constituency voted for it in the British Parliament.

The twenty-six counties took advantage of its election machinery only to repudiate the act and to secure a fresh mandate from the people. Otherwise the act was completely ignored by us.

In the remaining six counties almost one-fourth of the candidates were returned in non-recognition of the act, while Sir James Craig himself said "they (and his friends) accepted the Parliament conferred

upon them by the act only as a great sacrifice." The act was probably intended for propaganda purposes. It might do to allay world criticism—draw attention away from British violence for a month or two longer. At the end of that period Ireland would, it was hoped, have been terrorized into submission. That desired end gained, a chast-

ened nation would accept the crumb of freedom offered by the act. Britain, with her idea of the principles of self-determination satisfied, would wear a white sheet once more before the world.

There was probably an understanding, too, with the Orange leaders. The act entrenched them (or appeared to) within the six counties. No doubt both the British and Orange leaders had it in mind that if a bigger settlement had ultimately to be made with Ireland a position was secured from which they could bargain.

In any "settlement" the North-East was to be let down gently by the British government. Pampers for so long, she had learned to dictate to and to bully the nation to which she proposed to be loyal. She must be treated with tact in regard to any change of British policy towards Ireland.

She had been very useful. When the Partition act failed to achieve what was expected of it, and when the terror failed, a real settlement with Ireland became inevitable. The North-East was now no longer useful to prevent Irish freedom, but she could be useful in another way.

She could buttress Britain in Britain's determination that, while agreeing to our freedom, Ireland must remain associated with the British group of nations. Britain's reason for insisting upon this association as a minimum is that she believes it necessary for her own national safety.

Done to Split Irish

Were Britain to go to that, her maximum price, it could be represented to us that the North-East would never acquiesce in more. It could be represented to them that in such a settlement they would be preserving that which they professed to have at heart, the sentimental tie with the nation to which they were supposed to be attached.

North-East Ulster had been created and maintained, not for her own advantage, but to uphold Britain's policy. Everything was done to divide the Irish people and to keep them apart. If we could be made to believe we were the enemies of each other, the real enemy would be overlooked. In this policy Britain has been completely successful. She pitted a minority into becoming her agents with the double advantage of maintaining her policy and keeping us divided.

Long ago setting chief against chief served its purpose in providing the necessary excuse for declaring our lands forfeited. Plantations by Britain's agents followed. The free men of Ireland became serfs on the lands of their fathers. Ireland by these means was converted into a British beef farm, and when by force of change and circumstance these means became outworn the good results were continued by setting religion against religion and then worker against worker.

Religious Bias Fanned

If we were to be kept in subjection we must be kept apart. One creed was pampered while the other was oppressed. Protestant and Catholic came to mean the one who had and the one who had not. And, by a natural process, he who had learned to fear came to oppress him who had not.

Manufactures of every kind had been discouraged and destroyed throughout the greater part of Ireland in Britain's interests. Then the boom in British trade, which occurred early in the nineteenth century and the depression in agriculture, gave the opportunity to point to the superior qualities of the Protestant in the industrial North-East. They gave another reason to prejudice him against his Catholic countrymen.

But North-East Ulster had not flourished and could not flourish under this gross interference of economic laws. It has resulted only in a general decline in prosperity throughout the whole country; only in an uneconomic distribution of the disappearing wealth; only by contrast, in an appearance of prosperity in one section of the people as compared with the other.

Prosperity Waning

The population of Ulster has decreased by one-third since the forties. It is true that the population of Belfast has increased in the last two generations, but the two counties of Antrim and Down in which Belfast is situated contain today fewer people than before the famine of 1746-74.

Emigration has steadily increased. The number of emigrants from Down and Antrim, including Belfast, has in the last ten years more than doubled that of the preceding ten years.

If there has been any gain in

wealth in North-East Ulster, as compared with the rest of Ireland, it is obvious that that wealth has not percolated through to the workers for their well. They, too, like their poor countrymen in Connemara, have had to seek better economic conditions in America and other countries.

Capitalism has come, not only to serve Britain's purposes by keeping the people divided, but by setting worker against worker, it works on religious prejudice. It represents to the Protestant workman any attempt by the Catholic workman to get improved conditions as the cloak for some insidious political game.

Such a policy—the policy of divide and rule, and the opportunity it gives for private economic oppression—could bring nothing but evil and hardship to the whole of Ireland.

If Britain had not maintained her interference and carried out her policy, the planters would have become absorbed in the old Irish way. Protestant and Catholic would have learned to live side by side in amity and co-operation. Freedom would have come long ago. Prosperity would have come with it. Ireland would have taken her rightful place in the world—the place due to her by her natural advantages; the place due to her by the unique and diverse character of her people.

Wants Ulster to Join

Who will not say that from Britain's policy it is the North-East which has suffered most? She has lost economically and spiritually. She has suffered in reputation by allowing herself to be used for anti-national purposes. She might have gained real wealth as a sturdy and independent section of the population. She exchanged it, however, for a false ascendancy over her countrymen, which has brought her nothing but dishonor.

A large portion of her fair province has lost all its native distinctiveness. It has become merely an inferior Lancashire. Who would visit Belfast or Lismore or Lurgan to see the Irish people at home? That is the unhappy fate of the North-East. It is neither English nor Irish.

But what of the future? The North-East is about to get back into the pages of Irish history. Being no longer useful to prevent Irish freedom, forces of persuasion and pressure are embodied in

the treaty of peace which has been signed—by the Irish and British plenipotentiaries to induce North-east Ulster to join in a united Ireland.

If she joins in, the six counties will certainly be dealt with generously. If she stays out, the decision of the Boundary Commission arranged for in Clause 13 would be certain to deprive her of Fermanagh and Tyrone. Shorn of those counties she would shrink into insignificance.

The burdens and financial restrictions of the Partition Act will remain on North-east Ulster if she decides to stay outside of Ireland. No lightening of these burdens or restrictions can be effected by the English Parliament without the consent of Ireland. Thus union is certain. The only question for North-east Ulster is how soon?

Jeopardize Freedom

And that how soon may depend largely upon us, upon ourselves of Nationalist Ireland. What if the Orangemen were to get new allies in place of the departing British? The opposition of Mr. de Valera and his followers to the treaty is already prejudicing the chances of unity. As the division in our own ranks has become more apparent, the attitude of Sir James Craig has hardened. The organized ruffianism of the Northeast has broken out afresh. British troops have been hurried to the North-east. The evacuation has been suspended.

So long as there are British troops in Ireland so long will the Orangemen hold out. While they can look to Britain they will not turn toward the South. They are not giving up their ascendancy without a struggle.

Any Irishman who creates and supports division amongst us is standing in the way of a united Ireland. While the treaty is threatened the British will remain. While the British remain the North-East will keep apart. Just as the evil British policy of divide and rule is about to end forever, we are threatened with a new division, jeopardizing the hopes of Irish rule.

No geographical barrier could have succeeded in dividing Ireland. The four or six counties are not counties of Great Britain, they are counties of Ireland. While Britain governed Ireland, the North-East could remain apart, giving allegiance when we gave revolt. Once England surrenders

her right to govern us (as she has done under the treaty) she surrenders her power to divide us. With the British gone, the incentive to division is gone. The fact of union is too strong to be interfered with without the presence of the foreigner bent on interference. With the British gone, the Orangemen lose that support which alone made him strong enough to keep his position of domination and isolation.

Without British support he becomes what he is, one of a minority in the Irish nation. His rights are the same as those of every Irishman, but he has no rights other than those.

But Britain leaves behind a formidable legacy in the partition of view. That is there and it has to be dealt with. It is for us, to whom union is an article of our national faith, to deal with it.

Once the British are gone, I believe we can win our countrymen to allegiance to our own country. Let us convince them of our good will toward them. The first way of doing this is unity amongst ourselves.

We have the task before us to impregnate our Northern countrymen with the national outlook. We have a million Protestant Irishmen to convert out of our small population of four and a half millions. Is not that incentive enough to cause us to join together to win a far greater victory than ever we got against the British?

Victory in Unity

If we could have won that victory, there would have been no enemy to vanquish. The tendency of the sentiment in the North-East, when not interfered with, was national, and in favor of freedom and unity. In that lies our hope.

It is this serious internal problem which argues for the attainment of the final steps of freedom by evolution rather than by force. To give time to the North-East to learn to revolve in the Irish orbit and to get out of the orbit of Great Britain. In fact, internal association with Ireland; external association with Great Britain.

In acquiescing in a peace which involved some postponement of the fulfillment of our national sentiment—by agreeing to some association of our Irish nation with the British nation, we went a long way towards meeting the sentiment of the North-East, in its supposed attachment to Great Britain.

With such association Britain will have no ground (or power) for interference, and the North-East no genuine cause for complaint. Had we been able to establish a Republic at once we are all now agreed that that was not possible; we would have had to use our resources to coerce North-East Ulster into submission. Will anyone contend that such coercion, if it had succeeded, would have had the lasting effects which conversion on our side, and acquiescence on theirs, will produce.

The North-East has to be nationalized. Union must come first. Unity first as a means to full freedom. Our freedom then will be built on the unshakable foundation of a united people, united in every way, in economic co-operation in national outlook.

I have emphasized our desire

Foothold on Liberty

for national unity above all things. I have stated our desire to win the North-East for Ireland. We mean to do our best in a peaceful way, and if we fail the fault will not be ours. In the event of failure, the position will be, as I stated to an American interviewer the other day, that, in the words of the old Irish proverb, "The c'od hand gets only the shut flat." The freedom we have secured may unquestionably be incomplete. But it is the nearest approach to an absolutely independent and unified Ireland which we can achieve amongst ourselves at the present moment. It certainly gives us the best foothold for final progress.

Let us not waste our energies brooding over the more we might have got. Let us look upon what we have got. It is a measure of freedom, with which we can make an actual living Ireland when left to ourselves. Let us realize that the free Ireland obtained by the treaty is the greatest common measure of freedom obtainable now, and the most pregnant for further development. The freedom we have got gives us scope for all that we can achieve by the most strenuous united effort of the present generation to rebuild Ireland.

Can we not all join together to save the Irish ideal, freedom and unity, and to make it a reality?

[Other Articles by Michael Collins will follow in The Sunday Washington Times.]

CRUELTY AND DRUGS, JAPAN'S TOOLS TO STRANGLE CHINA

By Willy Loans She Has Obtained Possession of Economic Concessions, Asserts Robert L. Ward, American Business Man, Back From Orient.

In the fourth of a series of articles recounting Japan's aggressions to gain military, political and economic dominance in the Far East, Robert L. Ward today presents the plight of China, the vast nation of 400,000,000 persons that Japan is gradually absorbing.

Mr. Ward, an American business man who recently returned home after three years in the Orient, has told how Japan enslaved Korea, invaded Siberia and Manchuria, and secretly is building submarines and piling up munitions toward that day when, he believes, she will attack America in fulfillment of her final purpose of conquest.

By ROBERT L. WARD.

CHINA, one of the most mammoth nations of the world in population and area, somnolent for centuries, is striving with might and main to shake off the lethargy of time and establish herself in the position her strength in population and her extent in area and natural resources entitle her to attain.

But China, like so much of the Far East, is in the nefarious grip of the all-seeking octopus, Japan. Outrages in China by the

Japanese are well known. They form part of the general impression of the average American concerning Japan's gradual invasion of China.

But more important than atrocities to persons is the political and economic program by which Japan has frustrated China and by which she has been slowly but determinedly and steadfastly achieving dominance over the vast nation she hopes some day to bring entirely within the Mikado's control.

Today we see China with two capitals, each clamoring that it is the official seat of government and representative of the nation. But one, the Canton faction, is clear of Japanese influence. The other, at Peking, is under Japanese dominance. Those who know the history of Japan in the last few decades are aware that the government which submits to Japan is not representative of the republican ideals of the vast majority of the Chinese people.

SOUTH CHINA'S REVOLT.

China is thus in the unique position and quandary of possessing two governments, one at Peking, which the powers recognize, and the other at Canton, which almost all Chinese in the United States uphold. The peculiar feature of this unusual situation is that both factions in China swear allegiance to the same flag.

With \$10,000,000 borrowed from Japan and with Japanese urging, Japan having obtained railway and mining rights in Manchuria, the Peking government established a new Parliament, which became known as the "Bogus Parliament." It elected as President, Hsu Shi-Chang.

The Peking government obtained control of Canton, but only temporarily, for in 1920 the Peking militarists were driven out, the Canton Parliament was reassembled and Dr. Sun again named President.

That the Japanese control the Peking government is the charge of every Cantonese. And this charge is borne out not only by the fact of Japanese loans to Peking and concessions given to Japan as a result, but also by the testimony of foreigners in the Far East.

China is a country of many provinces, of many dialects and of many customs and types of people. Perhaps, to show Japan's program in China, it is well to select one province and concen-

trate this article largely on it. No better subject could be presented than Shantung.

Shantung is known as "the cradle of Chinese civilization" and is referred to as "the holy land of the Chinese people." The province has kept the Orient in a turmoil since its award to Japan at Paris.

THE SHANTUNG GRAB.

It is one of the richest of Chinese provinces, has a population of more than 30,000,000 and has historical associations dear to China. It is the land of the fighting men of China. It is a large producer of copper, lead, antimony, silver, sulphur and niter. It produces many semi-precious stones and its streams are wealthy in gold. But all these yield in importance to the deposits of iron and coal.

Through Shantung runs the Yellow river. This, with the Grand canal, connects Peking and Tien-Tsin with the Yangtze river. To give Shantung to any power would be to turn over complete control not only of a tremendously rich and heavily populated

province but also control of the Grand canal and of the internal commerce and communication of all China. The western part of Shantung juts into China. The railroad built by the Germans and controlled by the Japanese extends 300 miles westward.

In compensation for the murder of two missionaries, Germany in 1897 seized the important port of Kiaochow and in the next year exacted a ninety-nine-year lease, following with a protectorate.

GERMANY'S OCCUPATION.

Germany, under the terms of the lease, built fortifications at Tientsin, commanding the bay, and also built a railroad back to Tientsin, capital of the province. Administration of this territory was by the German navy.

Japan during the war took over Kiaochow, promising to give it back to China after the war. In the Versailles treaty Germany renounced "in favor of Japan all her rights, titles, and privileges . . . which she acquired in virtue of the treaty concluded with China on March 6, 1898, and

of all other arrangements relative to the province of Shantung."

When the Japanese entered Shantung the Japanese soldiers insulted American missionaries, outraged multitudes of Chinese peasants and demanded vast supplies of foods and animals. No money was paid.

CRUELITIES TO NATIVES.

Natives in Shantung have been brutally dispossessed of lands, stores, fisheries, salt works, orchards and business establishments of all kinds.

As in Korea, peasants have been strung up by the thumbs, made in winter to walk naked into the streams. Hot oil has been forced down their throats. They have been forced to walk on hot iron. Taxes have been imposed for births and deaths.

Maligning stories have been spread by the Japanese about American missionaries. Chinese Christians have been locked in dark rooms without food or water for days at a time to enforce the conviction that it is unsafe to deal with American missionaries.

DOES GHOST OF GIRL SPY HAUNT SUFFRAGISTS?

(Continued From Page 1.)

aide-de-camp to Stonewall Jackson with staff officers of the several commanders when General Wilcox's division was inspected by Lord Hartington and Colonel Leslie and again by Generals Lee and Longstreet.

The picturesque "Rebel Spy" died in June, 1900, of heart disease at Kilbourn, Wis., where she had gone to lecture under the auspices of a G. A. R. post.

Of course her exploits caused a regular country-wide epidemic of raised eyebrows. She was criticized in all sorts of ways, but the phrase "unwomanly" was the one most frequently heard.

These days, it must be remembered, were before much had been said about "women's rights." And a woman's place then was very much a matter of family and fireside, however able, patriotic or willing to serve she may have been.

So the women of the National Woman's Party, who themselves have endured plenty of fault-finding, are wondering if perhaps the spirit of the girl who dared is seeking justification where she would be most likely to find it—within the precincts of the most advanced

and most eminently freedom-for-women institution in the whole world.

These feminists also are speculating upon the possibility of acclimating the general feminine prejudice against spooks to the idea of having a ghost about, provided it will remain a good little ghost and do nothing more terrifying than stretch out a small hand in the twilight, or flash a wistful smile, like the fleeting memory of happiness long past.

At any rate plans are going forward for dedication ceremonies, which probably will attract the largest gathering of women since the suffrage ceremonies last year at the Capitol.

It is all to be very colorful, very imposing. The only little shadow on the bright program is the possibility of that specter coming down from the second floor chamber and wandering about amongst the assemblage, a strange, disturbing presence.

Still, it is being hoped that the new activity about the old house may satisfy the loneliness of the astral Belle Boyd—if indeed it be she!—and that she may lie down in a satisfied peace before the day of dedication.

statesmen at Washington. And despite of it all we see our navy slashed. We need to prepare against Japan. Instead we are helping Japan prepare against us.

Japan is afraid that the sudden transfer of the railway to China would adversely affect her commercial interests. Control of the railway and its adjoining mines would give Japan control of the Grand Canal and the rivers and the proximity of Shantung to China, control of the Chinese Empire.

JAPAN'S PROGRAM.

Whatever the outcome of the Shantung controversy, Japan will be insistent on this program:

1—That China build a railroad from Chefoo or Lungkow to connect with the Kiaochow-Tientsin Railway; if necessary, on capital borrowed from Japan. The loan would give Japan a mortgage.

2—That China open commercial ports in Shantung, these to be designated by Japan.

3—Permission to Japanese subjects in South Manchuria to lease or buy land and to travel and engage in any business whatever under Japanese jurisdiction.

The controlling influence thus given Japan is obvious.

4—China to build railways in South Manchuria, borrowing capital from Japan, if necessary. Thus another mortgage.

5—If China is to employ advisers in South Manchuria, Japanese are to be employed first. Japan's control over administrative functions would be thus assured.

6—China to open in Eastern Inner Mongolia commercial ports to foreigners, to be designated by Japan.

7—China to consent to an agreement between the big steel company of Shantung and Japanese capitalists. Again we have an instance of Japan's purpose of controlling Shantung industries through loans.

8—China not to lease or cede to any Power any bay, harbor or island along the Chinese coast.

9—Japanese may lease or purchase land in the interior of China for schools and hospitals.

10—That there shall be joint arsenals.

11—The question of missionary propaganda shall be negotiated. The last is significant when it is

Shantung Grab Cited as Typical of Nipponese Policy—American Missionaries Accused of Crimes. United States the Goal of Prey Some Day, He Asserts.

recalled that in Korea the missionaries have been savagely accursed in many ways by the Japanese, because Christian teachings have inspired in the Koreans a determination for liberty. Many outrages, including massacres, have been committed in Korean churches established by missionaries.

SINISTER FEATURES.

Thus, Japan, militarily and commercially and politically, has North China at her mercy. These are Japan's excuses in her attempt to justify her policy in China.

Japan must have room for colonization and considers Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia as legitimate fields for this expansion.

Japan must have room for commercial expansion and considers all China a legitimate field.

JAPAN'S LAME EXCUSES.

In her political activities Japan is "merely trying to protect China against her own weakness, which is a menace at once to both nations."

Japan holds it her duty and responsibility that the peace of the Far East be maintained.

As a matter of fact, her geography has denied Japan the great wealth to which she aspires. So she seeks it by force. She has acquired some of the riches she seeks by conquest of Korea and by invasion of Siberia and Manchuria. She is after further spoils in China and eventually, of course, in America.

(Next week Mr. Ward will write of Japan's efforts to extend her domination throughout the islands of the Pacific.)